

## Islam and the West: The Politics of Phobia

\* Dr. Minhas Majeed Khan

\*\* Dr. Tasawar Baig

\*\*\* Ms. Saadia Beg

### Abstract

*The dawn of 21st Century inherited the bad relations between the Muslim World and the West. Primarily, the unresolved political issues of the Cold War shaped the agenda for the post-Cold War scenario. Especially, the political script of post-Cold War period dominated by Huntington's Clash of Civilization theory, which portrayed Islam as the greatest threat to Western culture and values. This notion was being applied on various domestic vis-à-vis global situations that had nothing to do with the Muslims, and this fear of Islam or Muslim - Islamophobia - in the West created a gulf between the Muslim world and the Christian West. Islamophobia is a much talked about phenomenon; however, little attention was given to the fact that the Muslim world and some Western critics were also blaming the West as one of major source of political unrest in the Muslim world, which perpetuated bad relations between the two. Resultantly, evolving the geopolitics of emotions around politics of phobia(s) or xenophobia intensified the core basis of political processes in international relations. Similarly, in Muslim World, the very foundations of the phobia(s) or emotions of fear, suspicion and humiliation evolved or studied through historical prisms that include the history of Crusades, the era of colonialism and geopolitical maneuverings in post-colonial settings, developed serious levels of mistrust referred to as Westophobia. The global ramifications of these phobias are worrisome developments not only for the Christian West but also for Muslim world and it is high time to mitigate the socio-political gaps between the Muslim World and the Christian West. This paper attempts to explore the conceptualization of politics of phobias, especially the Islamophobia and Westophobia; to further examine the role of religious identity in creating a schism and to seek the differences as well as common grounds between the two communities, for mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence, to bridge the widening gulf between the two.*

**Keywords:** Islamophobia, Westophobia, Christian West, Political Islam, Peaceful Coexistence.

### Introduction:

Globally, the geo-politics of emotions have badly affected the political conditions at intra and inter-state level in post-9/11 period. However, the end of the Cold War Huntington's notion of the clash between civilizations emerged, which eventually shaped many of the domestic and foreign policy directions in nations around the globe. Use of ethno-religious *otherization* become a useful tool for many global leaders to extend their personal political agendas. Giving a speech against Islamic fundamentals during his official visit to Poland, President Trump's assertion that "I am at War with them", provides incentives to non-Muslims to launch an out-group hostility against Muslims.<sup>1</sup> Resultantly, religious identities shaped much of emotions, perceptions, misperceptions and even misconceptions about societies that later dominated the policy formations and became a source of racism in many parts of the world.<sup>2</sup>

Due to the forces of globalization, the dominating religio-identities not only resurfaced with greater intensity, but further polarized the world community i.e. the resurgence of notions of Islamophobia and Westophobia, which have widened the socio-political fissures between the 'geographically and culturally divided East and West'.<sup>3</sup> Today the Muslim World has replaced the term East which has historically remained a contested geographical region for West. Some vivid examples are seen through the extreme views against Muslims, such as Pastor Terry Jones' in Florida; President Trump's Muslim ban to travel into United States;

---

\* Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Peshawar.

\*\* Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, Karakoram International University, Gilgit.

\*\*\* Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, Karakoram International University, Gilgit..

lynching of Muslims for eating cow meat in India, Buddhist campaign against Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar and Dutch Lawmaker Geert Wilders launching an anti-Islamic campaign to sketch Prophet's caricature which caused a great uproar and emotional hatred against non-Muslims for humiliating the Muslims and their beliefs.

Similarly, longstanding unresolved political disputes like the Israel-Palestine issue, Iraq war, and Afghan war(s) provided an opportunity to many in Muslim societies and reactionary groups who reacted by launching violent transnational movements. These movements eventually negatively affected Muslim societies more, both at the domestic and international fronts. By and large, in Western countries, especially the US, stereotyped notions of 'Islamophobia, anti-immigrant sentiments and racism' normally noticed in media and often statecraft also frame the agenda through developing 'fears of others' in the minds of its own nationals.<sup>4</sup>

With the end of Cold War, the forces of globalization generated both optimistic and pessimistic viewpoints about international relations, which have been portrayed by numerous scholars. For instance, in the post-Cold war period, Francis Fukuyama sees democracy as the champion of and way forward for a prosperous world, while Huntington's view of clash of civilizations sketches a map of world politics, in which global trends suggest that culture based 'clash of emotions' is rapidly influencing the local dynamics.<sup>5</sup>

Ethnicity and religious identities turned to be the foundations of the *otherization* between the Muslim World and the Christian West, subsequently structuring global politics which was "reconfigured along cultural lines."<sup>6</sup> For example, Bosnian Muslims considered themselves as Yugoslavian while the Chechens identified themselves as Russian before both ethnicities were targeted on the basis of their Muslim identity.<sup>7</sup> Similarly Black Christians reacted against Arab Islamic regime declaring a war of identity.

Historically, both Muslims and non-Muslims lived side by side in shared societies, however, the intolerance of diverse opinions and beliefs has not been peculiar phenomena, rather the rejection of pluralism has existed historically in all civilizations.<sup>8</sup> Since the dawn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the cleavages drawn became deeper between the Muslim world and the Christian West. While the political events in 21<sup>st</sup> century show increasingly anti-Muslim racism, whereby in most of the "Western societies, Muslims are often seen as intrinsically different and legitimate targets of suspicion and state surveillance because of their proclivities for violence, radicalism, and terrorism."<sup>9</sup> This paper examines how politics of religio-phobia develop socio-political distance and fear as existential challenges between the Muslim World and Christian West. It further explores the conditions under which the forces of hatred germinate and exploit religion for political gains at both sides? Analysis and discussions are developed on the theoretical and historical analysis of past events of the Cold war and post-Cold war era.

### **Conceptualizing the Politics of Phobia:**

The politics of phobia is not a new invention, rather it has existed in human societies throughout the ages. Today, mapping of emotions is equally helpful to understand the conflicts and peace ventures across the globe. As Dominique Moisi emphasizes the mapping of emotions involves bringing together the diverse viewpoints of people, society and governments about their-selves, others and also how geography dictates the behaviors of the nations.<sup>10</sup> There is even a wide range of polarization within similar identical groups (between Muslim-Muslim, Christian-Christian and so forth) referred as to as indigenous phobia or "intergroup hostility"<sup>11</sup>, with in-group members taking extreme sides against each other to support popular opinion either for or against as moderates or fundamentals. Hence, the emotions based political maneuvering yields different emotional outcomes in the form of humiliation, fear, and hope in a society. Subsequently, some nations seek revenge, some stereotype others and some remain optimistic to evolve harmonious norms for a peaceful co-existence.

Despite the ethno-religious divides and stereotyping, pursuit of pluralistic ideals have been portrayed through enlightenment, reformist movements, and social revolutions for respecting diversity of ideas and political philosophies to obtain recognition of the right to co-exist.<sup>12</sup> But at the same time, many nations react to relative deprivation in the economic, political and social domains that evolves higher scales of frustrations triggering political violence against perceived injustices.<sup>13</sup> Today, in an age of complex interdependence the feelings of political “frustration[s] with the process of globalization has been adding to all these layers of humiliation that seeks revenge.”<sup>14</sup>

One of the fundamental principles which divides the Muslim World and Christian West is the widespread fear that Islamic thoughts “rejects a set of principles that is at the very foundation of international society.”<sup>15</sup> It is because, a number of Western states mistakenly believe that modernity that is the very foundation of today’s globalized world, is considered as only the contribution of the liberal values of the West. This in many ways ignores to credit the scientific contributions of past great Muslim thinkers and scientists.<sup>16</sup> These liberal values include inclusiveness through democratic regimes, “equality, tolerance, and freedom coalesce to produce the modern secular state”, which primarily develops a contradiction amid conventionalism and modernism.<sup>17</sup> On the contrary, as Ya’ar and Alkalay argue, the Muslim World is inherently pluralistic and supportive of heterogeneity, which makes “Islam and the Quran at their core ... compatible with democracy”, while warning that “radical Muslims must not be taken as representative of mainstream Islam.”<sup>18</sup>

The global power structure and political conditions have continuously manipulated the pluralistic structures of weaker societies for political gains. Mehdi has vividly recast the episodes of the past century, where the conception of knowledge and power is employed to “civilize the savage” as a way forward to deal with the “white man’s burden.”<sup>19</sup> She further emphasizes that the way to civilize the non-Western civilization was by developing authority through knowledge orientations, which meant that it was believed that, “Knowledge beckons authority, authority beckons domination and control, and that displays a rather swift manifestation of power.”<sup>20</sup> Today, the engineering of current history, is in the making, showing similar patterns of domination and control that are visible where taming the uncivilized is a justified reason to dominate the weaker, nourishing emotions of fear, humiliation and revenge. Many right-wing political leaders in the West are campaigning against refugees citing the crisis as a threat to European social cohesion. Similarly, right-wing Muslim groups justify pan-Islamic narrative for the reason that the West is not only waging wars against Muslim countries but has also installed pro-Western political leaders with exploitative missions.<sup>21</sup>

Understanding the politics of phobia is important to address the issue that has resurfaced due to the *othering* phenomenon. While the globalized world is becoming more integrated on the face of it, fissures exist in the very foundations of societies. Therefore, Westphobia is as bad as Islamophobia, and socialization of both can mend the gaps.

### **Islamophobia: Anti-Muslim Sentiment in the West:**

Islamophobia is the expression of fear, hate, and anger towards Islam and Muslims by non-Muslims particularly in the West. Islam is viewed as a violent religion and its adherents as long bearded maniacs who want to convert the whole world to Islam through violence. In recent times, the hate speeches by populist politicians have led to rapid rise in hate crimes, mainly against Muslims living in the West. The demonization of Islam in these societies has led to discrimination and marginalization of the Muslim minorities there. This process has accelerated in the aftermath of the terrorist incident of 9/11 in the US. Coupled with the economic recession of 2008 and the pouring in of refugees fleeing the Syrian conflict and from other Muslim developing countries the expressions of Islamophobia have intensified.

The result has been two disturbing simultaneous consequences. The first is the gradual rise of the far right parties and the second one is the radicalization of the Muslim youth in the West. This article traces the roots of both phenomenon and discusses the subsequent impact

on the relations between the Muslims and Christian West. The understanding of the two is important is peace is to prevail within societies around the globe, otherwise misperceptions and misconceptions will further widen the fissures of geo-emotional divides. History is witness of high magnitude of sufferings and negative effects that are caused by conditions of othering based politics.

### **Definitions and Origins of the concept of Islamophobia :**

Islamophobia as a construct has entered the contemporary lexicon in the last few decades. The concept as an expression of hatred, fear and suspicion of Islam and its adherents, however, has been around ever since Islam first came into contact with the Christian West in the earliest days of the religion.<sup>22</sup> The French version of the term *islamophobie* appeared after the WWI.<sup>23</sup> The term in its contemporary usage was coined by the first Runnymede Trust Report on the topic that defined it as an 'unfounded hostility towards Muslims, and therefore fear or dislike of all or most Muslims'.<sup>24</sup>

The term was conceived of as a form of racism particularly in the context of Britain and the West. In the subsequent report published in 2018 on the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the initial report, the definition has been extended to include "any distinction, exclusion, or restriction towards, or preference against, Muslims (or those perceived to be Muslims) that has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life."<sup>25</sup>

Although there is a recognition of the issue within certain quarters, most of the public in the West does not acknowledge the existence of Islamophobia.<sup>26</sup> While some scholars have also defined it as an issue amongst the fundamentalists in the Christian, Jewish, Muslim and the Modern world instead of just between Islam and the West.<sup>27</sup> Depending on the perceptions and interests of the stakeholders the term itself has spread in various forms. Islamophobia is growing at an alarming rate in Europe. This is particularly worrisome as future demographic trends projecting the transformations in population patterns predict a substantial increase in Muslims across the European continent.<sup>28</sup>

This has led to a rising fear in the West and particularly Europe that the Muslims might become a majority there in the future. This has created a collective fear within Europe that the local populations might be outnumbered by the immigrating Muslims in their own countries in the future threatening their way of life.<sup>29</sup> Which has led to the implementation of discriminatory policies that not only alienate their own Muslim citizens but at the same time create Westophobic reactions in Muslims around the globe. Islamophobia in fact effects Muslims across the globe not just those residing in the West. The world has been a witness to growing anti-West sentiments since the global war on terror and its aftermath.

The result of this fear can be witnessed as the rise of Far Right racist movements in Europe which are slowly gaining momentum and increasing in numbers. A study of the recent national elections around Europe shows a rise in electoral gains made by these parties in countries like Switzerland, Austria, Denmark, Hungary, Finland, Italy, Sweden and Germany among others.<sup>30</sup> This shift in political balance has forced even center right parties to adopt a tougher stance towards immigrants especially those from Muslim countries. Various scholars have identified deteriorating economic conditions and anti-immigrant sentiments as the reasons for this rise<sup>31</sup>, while some argue that age old prejudices and anti-Muslim rhetoric are to blame.<sup>32</sup>

As a reaction, there has been an emerging trend in the Muslim youth in some European countries whereby they join radicalized Muslim terrorist outfits. For instance, in recent past a growing number of educated youth from Europe had inclination to join the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). The Muslim in the West are mostly second or third generation immigrants who are torn between the culture of their ancestors in the East and their adopted culture in the West, being able to completely identify with neither.<sup>33</sup> Social, economic, and political polarization of immigrants is gradually becoming embedded in the

societies through policies and institutions that have the backing of the state.<sup>34</sup> In addition to the feelings of marginalization in the place where they reside, the discrimination suffered due to the rising Islamophobia there not only forces them to turn to radicalization but also fuels the twin menace of Westophobia.

Islamophobia in the US, while on the rise earlier as well, has found newfound political expression since the Trump administration has been in power. Trump during his election campaign raised anti-Muslim slogans that resonated with his more conservative constituencies. Islamophobia in the US might have exploded after the pain and anger of the tragedy of 9/11 but it has roots dating to the colonial period. The early American settlers to sail from Europe carried with them the memories of the Crusades and the anti-Muslim discourse of the times.<sup>35</sup> The developments of the subsequent centuries and the experiences of the West and Islam is ingrained in the collective psyche of the Christian West leading to the deteriorating relations between the two in the present.

Adding fuel to the fire is the continuous portrayal of women as being oppressed in Islam.<sup>36</sup> The efforts of both political and religious leaders in this regard contribute to the rise of Islamophobia in the West. While this might be true for some Muslim societies, it also stands that women both in the East and West are denied their due social and civil rights. The opposition to the right to abortion by Christian fundamentalists is a case in point. These are, however, not highlighted in the media as much as their counterparts in Muslim countries.

Political and religious rhetoric notwithstanding, even the intellectual debates have centered on the inevitable clash between the liberal ideals of the West and the perceived oppressive Islamic values. Huntington's thesis has only been successful in reinforcing the mistrust between the two. So-called experts on Islam and Muslims bombard the screens and airwaves in the West propagating their Islamophobic prejudices. This echoes back to the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries Europe where Islamophobic intellectuals contributed heavily to the portrayal of Muslims as inferior and backward. This was eventually constructed as an academic discourse which in later years, even in the recent century, was translated into practice through anti-Muslim policies.

### **Westophobia: an Anti-Western Sentiment:**

The origins of Westophobia can be found around the same time as the emergence of Islamophobia. Westophobia refers to the hatred and anger towards the West particularly in reaction to policies and actions seen as anti-Islam or directed against Muslims. Ali traces the origins of the phenomenon to the post-colonial times when in Muslim countries an intellectual reaction to modernization along the lines of the Western model of scientific and technological developments took place.<sup>37</sup> This is the period in world history when the Muslim civilization was on a decline and Europe was on an intellectual, economic and political rise.

There have been two opposite yet simultaneous trends in relations between the West and the Muslims since the colonial times. One of the trends was the "blind mimicking" of the West and its modernization by the political elite without taking into account whether the social, political, economic or cultural context of the mimickers was appropriate or not; the second trend was the rejection of this imitation.<sup>38</sup> Even in the contemporary world we see the same trends present. There are those in the Muslim world who fear that the values that the West represents are a threat to their way of life.<sup>39</sup> While at the same time, there are others who wholeheartedly embrace the Western way of life.

The fear or abhorrence of the West that arose in the past was partly a reaction to what Edward Said terms the "Orientalist project" which was 'a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony' between the East and the West.<sup>40</sup> It was a result of a systematic shift that was a "total eclipse of Muslim military, political and intellectual life."<sup>41</sup> The European colonizers in a bid to avert a reemergence of an Islamic threat set on a course to weaken the once mighty Islamic civilization through various means

including propaganda.<sup>42</sup> The Westophobic Muslims in the present, like in those in the past, still believe the West to be a source of threat to Muslims and their religion.

### **Conclusion: Socialization of Islam and West: A Way forward to mend the Gap:**

The dawn of twenty-first century, which enjoyed the height of higher inter-connectedness on one hand, but at the same world remained disconnected due to politics of phobia, hatred and othering based policy formation. In this regard, terrorist activities of transnational groups cause huge damage and threat to Islamic world; this resulted reciprocal surge of emotional revenge against West among many Muslim societies. However, in general, Muslim societies believe on good deeds as most of other non-Muslim societies do. As Quran says in Surat Fussilat that “And not equal are the good deed and the bad. Repel [evil] by that [deed] which is better; and thereupon the one whom between you and him is enmity [will become] as though he was a devoted friend. But none is granted it except those who are patient, and none is granted it except one having a great portion [of good].”<sup>43</sup> This guiding principle advocates that whether its racism of any kind, hatred for others, or Islamophobia all is equivalent to evil deeds and fruits of tree of hatred. This menace can be erased or subjugated by collective resolve by all without any discrimination of one faith over other and one ethnic or nation over other.

In the past few years there has been an increasing realization both in the West and Muslim societies that the deteriorating relations between the two could lead to further conflict. Efforts in inter-civilizational and interfaith harmony have been undertaken by both to mend the gap. Some of the notable ones include the World Economic Forum’s Council of 100 leaders (C-100), the UN Alliance of Civilizations, King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz International Center for Inter-cultural dialogue at Vienna, the Archbishop of Canterbury’s Building Bridges project, the Vatican-al- Azhar Dialogue, the Parliament of the World’s Religions, and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). Other initiatives at universities and centers promote intellectual efforts in this regard. An acceptance of religious pluralism and an embrace of diversity can lead to dialogue that promote a socialization process that upholds the norms of respect, empathy, compassion, tolerance, humility to understand of each other positively.

Terrorist activities by any Muslim are seen as a reflection of the religion and it become common practice to blame Islam and Muslim societies quickly. While, on the other hand, any terrorist activity by others (non-Muslims) is seen as the act of a mentally disturbed individual. This tendency needs to be overcome for interfaith harmony and understanding between two sides need to develop thoroughly. Populist politicians riding on the wave of anti-Muslim sentiments fuel the flames of hatred alienating the Muslims in the West. These acts have implications on human rights as well. The West needs to recognize that if the right to freedom of speech comes into conflict with the right to practice one’s religion while leading to violence then this problems needs to be seriously addressed.

### **Endnotes:**

<sup>1</sup> Milan Obaidi, Jonas R. Kunst, Nour Kteily, Lotte Thomsen, and James Sidanius, “Living Under Threat: Mutual Threat Perception Drives Anti-Muslim and Anti-Western Hostility in the Age of Terrorism,” *European Journal of Social Psychology* 48, (2018): 567

<sup>2</sup> James Carr, *Experiences of Islamophobia: Living with racism in the neoliberal era.* (UK: Routledge, 2016)

<sup>3</sup> Mehmet Atalay, In Search of a Better: East is East and West is West and these Twins are Destined to Meet,” *Ekev Akademi Dergisi*, 14, no. 45 (2010):60.

<sup>4</sup> Muhammad Safeer Awan, “Global Terror and the Rise of Xenophobia/ Islamophobia: An Analysis of American Cultural Production since September 11,” *Islamic Studies* 49, no .4 (2010): 525.

<sup>5</sup> Dominique Moisi, *The Geopolitics of Emotions: How Cultures of Fear, Humiliation, and Hope are Reshaping the World* (New York: Doubleday, 2009).

- <sup>6</sup> Yale H. Ferguson and Richard W. Mansbach, *Remapping Global Politics: History's Revenge and Future Shock* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 143.
- <sup>7</sup> *ibid*, pp.149-150.
- <sup>8</sup> Walid Phares, *The War of Ideas: Jihad Against Democracy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 68.
- <sup>9</sup> Nazli Kibria, Tobias Henry Watson, and Saher Selod, "Imagining the Radicalized Muslim: Race, Anti-Muslim Discourse, and Media Narratives of the 2013 Boston Marathon Bombers," *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 4, no .2 (2018): 192.
- <sup>10</sup> Dominique Moisi, *The Geopolitics of Emotions: How Cultures of Fear, Humiliation, and Hope are Reshaping the World*, 16.
- <sup>11</sup> John Duckitt, "Prejudice and Intergroup Hostility", in *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, ed. David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy and Robert Jervis (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 559-600.
- <sup>12</sup> Walid Phares, *The War of Ideas: Jihad Against Democracy*, 69.
- <sup>13</sup> Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970).
- <sup>14</sup> Dominique Moisi, *The Geopolitics of Emotions: How Cultures of Fear, Humiliation, and Hope are Reshaping the World*, 69.
- <sup>15</sup> Walid Phares, *The War of Ideas: Jihad Against Democracy*, 69.
- <sup>16</sup> Zehra Mehdi, "Phobia of Religion: Religion as Islam a Political argument and a Psychoanalytic Inquiry of Islamophobia in India," *International Journal of Applied Psychoanal Studies*, 14 (2017):222-244.
- <sup>17</sup> *ibid*, 223.
- <sup>18</sup> Ephraim Yuchtman-Ya'ar and Yasmin Alkalay, "Political Attitudes in the Muslim World," *Journal of Democracy* 21, no. 3 (July 2010): 123.
- <sup>19</sup> Zehra Mehdi, "Phobia of Religion: Religion as Islam a Political argument and a Psychoanalytic Inquiry of Islamophobia in India, 225.
- <sup>20</sup> *ibid*, 225.
- <sup>21</sup> Milan Obaidi, Jonas R. Kunst, Nour Kteily, Lotte Thomsen, and James Sidanius, "Living Under Threat: Mutual Threat Perception Drives Anti-Muslim and Anti-Western Hostility in the Age of Terrorism, 568; Noam Chomsky, *World Orders, Old and New* (London: Pluto Press, 1996)
- <sup>22</sup> Ameer Ali, "From Islamophobia to Westophobia: The Long Road to Radical Islamism", *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, (March, 2016).
- <sup>23</sup> *ibid*, 2.
- <sup>24</sup> Runnymede Trust, *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All*. London: Runnymede Trust (1997). Available at: [www.runnymedetrust.org/companies/17/74/ Islamophobia-A-Challenge-for-Us-All.html](http://www.runnymedetrust.org/companies/17/74/ Islamophobia-A-Challenge-for-Us-All.html).
- <sup>25</sup> Farah Elahi and Omar Khan, *Islamophobia: Still a Challenge for Us All*. London: Runnymede Trust (2018). Available at: [www. Runnymedetrust .org/uploads /Islamophobia% 20 Report% 202018 %20FINAL.pdf](http://www.Runnymedetrust.org/uploads /Islamophobia% 20 Report% 202018 %20FINAL.pdf)
- <sup>26</sup> Minhas Majeed Khan, "Islamophobia: Roots and Emergence of Violent Extremism", *Institute of Strategic Studies*, Issue brief (2015). Available at: [issi.org.pk/wp-content /uploads /2015/10/Final-Issue-brief\\_minhas\\_dated-12-10-2015.pdf](http://issi.org.pk/wp-content /uploads /2015/10/Final-Issue-brief_minhas_dated-12-10-2015.pdf)
- <sup>27</sup> *ibid*, 2.
- <sup>28</sup> Nitzan Peri-Rotem, "Religion and Fertility in Western Europe: Trends Across Cohorts in Britain, France and the Netherlands" *European journal of population* = Revue europeenne de demographie vol. 32 (2016): 231-265.

- <sup>29</sup> Khan, *Islamophobia*, 2; Pew Research Center, *Europe's Growing Muslim Population*. Pew Research Center, Washington, DC (Nov. 2017). Available at: <http://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/>
- <sup>30</sup> BBC News, *Europe and Nationalism: A country-by-country guide*, 10 September 2018. Available at: [www.bbc.com/news/amp/world-europe-36130006](http://www.bbc.com/news/amp/world-europe-36130006)
- <sup>31</sup> William A. Galston, *The rise of European populism and the collapse of the center-left*, Brookings, March 8, 2018. Available at: [www.brookings.edu/blg/order-from-chaos/2018/03/08/the-rise-of-european-populism-and-the-collapse-of-the-center-left/amp/](http://www.brookings.edu/blg/order-from-chaos/2018/03/08/the-rise-of-european-populism-and-the-collapse-of-the-center-left/amp/)
- <sup>32</sup> Max Holleran, *The Opportunistic Rise of Europe's Far Right*, The New Republic, February 16, 2018. Available at: [newrepublic.com//article/147102/opportunistic-rise-of-europes-far-right](http://newrepublic.com//article/147102/opportunistic-rise-of-europes-far-right)
- <sup>33</sup> Sarah Lyons-Padilla, Michele J. Gelfand, Hedieh Mirahmadi, Mehreen Farooq, Marieke van Egmond. "Belonging nowhere: Marginalization & radicalization risk among Muslim immigrants." *Behavioral Science & Policy*, Brookings Institution Press Volume 1, Number 2, December 2015 pp. 1-12 10.1353/bsp.2015.0019
- <sup>34</sup> Cristina Goni, *The Truth About Terror and Youth Radicalization*, 27 October 2017. Available at: <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/truth-about-terror-and-youth-radicalization>
- <sup>35</sup> Khan, *Islamophobia: roots*, 3.
- <sup>36</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>37</sup> Ali, *From Islamophobia to Westophobia*, 3
- <sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, 3.
- <sup>39</sup> Waris Mazari. (September 8, 2014). *Muslims and Islamophobia*. <http://www.newageislam.com/muslims-and-islamophobia/%E2%80%98westophobia%E2%80%99-is-dangerous-for-muslims/d/98955>
- <sup>40</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*. (London: Penguin Books, 1991, Reprint); Ali, *From Islamophobia to Westophobia*, 6.
- <sup>41</sup> Charlene Tan, (Draft) "Colonialism, post-colonialism, Islam and Islamic education." In R. Arjmand and H. Daun (eds), *Handbook of Islamic Education*, (Dordrecht: Springer, 2017). Available at: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320032773\\_Colonialism\\_Postcolonialism\\_Islam\\_and\\_Education](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320032773_Colonialism_Postcolonialism_Islam_and_Education)
- <sup>42</sup> Ali, *From Islamophobia to Westophobia*, 6.
- <sup>43</sup> Quran Surat Fussilat (41: 34-35)